4:Grajdanzev--138-139 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-2
116, 563, 659, 723, 177.65 Japan
636.65

"The expenditures on the government apparatus, including police, courts, prisons, and pensions are chiefly, in some cases [139] exclusively, expenditures on the Japanese staff and for the benefit of the Japanese. All important government positions are occupied by Japanese and their salaries are much higher than those of the Chinese. Expenditures on roads, railroads, and communications, of course, benefit the local population as well as the Japanese, but as was shown in preceding chapters, these improvements are used chiefly by the Japanese or for commerce with Japan which brings little net gain to the islanders. Expenditures on ports are out of all proportion to the needs of the island. Their function is, as the Japanese openly announce, to serve as a base for the advance to the South, and such expenditures have little to do with the welfare of the islanders. Expenditures on rice control are again expenditures in the interest of Japan proper for this system has in view simply the interest of Japanese. In the war expenditures we have included expenditures on airfields, on Red Cross activities, on air defense and contributions to the war chest of Japan. These expenditures grew from the modest figure of 287,000 yen in 1935 to 21,150,000 yen in 1939; thus Taiwan contributes to the conquest of China by the Japanese. In the war expenditures should be included expenditures on meteorological stations. Their remarkable growth from 73,000 yen in 1935 to 900,000 yen in 1939 is explained not by any interest in meteorological phenomena, but by the

needs of the Japanese military aviation. Taiwan lies in the path of typhoons and information on weather conditions there is of extreme value to the Japanese forces in China."

4:Grajdanzev--140-141 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 648, 652, 659, 723, 177.65 Japan
636.65

"The large expenditures on railways and communications, on research, on investments in the South Seas, etc., show what importance the Japanese attach to the part of Taiwan in the schemes for an advance to the South. The money [141] collected in the Taiwan budget--almost 200 million yen--is thus mainly used, on the one hand, for the construction of the all-important base for Japanese penetration in the South Seas, on the other, for the purchase of Taiwanese products to be sent to Japan (1).

1. In the last few years the Japanese government has started the practice of direct contributions by the Taiwan Treasury to the Japan's Treasury. The sum appropriated in Taiwan's budget for 1941, for example, is 24.5 million yen."

4:Grajdanzev--188-189 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 723, 177.72 Japan
636.72

"As for the future, the Japanese writers are not sure themselves whether Taiwan will not follow the fate of Okinawa Islands which, after the acquisition of Taiwan became a forgotten geographic name. But there is little doubt as to the importance of the island for the southern advance now and in the immediate future. First of all, the geographic position of Taiwan is favorable. Takao, in the southern part of Taiwan, is nearer to Manila than to Yokohama, and is just half way between Yokohama and Saigon, southern Indo-China. Takao is 1,495 miles from Yokohama and 1,800 miles from Singapore. [189] For certain purposes Hainan Island, seized by the Japanese in 1938-39 is an even better base for Japanese action in Southeast Asia, and there is no doubt that many of the transports of troops that are now attacking the Philippines came from Hainan. However, Haikow, the chief port of Hainan, was occupied by the Japanese only on February 10, 1939, and there was not time enough to make it a good modern base, especially because of the continued unrest and guerilla activities in the interior of the island. Taiwan for many years was being systematically prepared as a base for the army and navy operations in the South while the United States undertook an obligation not to fortify its bases in the western Pacific."

4:Grajdanzev--191 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 563, 668, 656, 723, 177.66 Japan
636.66

"It was shown in the first chapters of this book that the Japanese on the island form only a very small part of the population of the island. The mass of the population is formed by the Chinese who came to the island from Fukien and Kwangtung. In spite of the Japanese government during the past decades they have remained Chinese in their thought, in their language, religious beliefs, customs, dress. The importance of Taiwan as a base for Japanese aggression is in this respect anomalous. An island where there are more than five million potential (and in some cases actual and active) enemies cannot be considered as a perfect base. Just across the straits lies China, unconquered in spite of four years of war. Underground organizations of Chinese exist on the island, and their representatives in Chungking claim many achievements, including acts of sabotage, open fighting with the Japanese troops by Taiwan guerillas and so on. There is no way to check these claims, because the [Japanese--analyst] Government-General a long time ago turned Taiwan into a news-proof prison, from which no information is available, except that which the Government-General pleases to publish for the benefit of credulous foreigners."

4:Grajdanzev--191-193 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-1-3
116, 553, 563, 723, 177.65 Japan
636.65

"In any case. the Japanese government understands the abnormality of the situation [i.e. the unexpressed and expressed hostility of the people of Taiwan toward the Japanese--analyst] and the dangers connected with [192] it. To this 'domestic' consideration a special consideration of grand strategy is added. The militarists of Japan realize that the successful management of the Eastern Asia Co-prosperity sphere cannot be realized without the goodwill of at least some groups of the local population. They plan to retain the semifeudal organization of the Dutch Indies, Thailand, Malaya, etc., but to supplement it on the one hand with direct control over rajahs, sultans, chiefs and so on, on the other hand with an indirect control through the Chinese. In each country of Southeastern Asia there are millions of Chinese, chiefly of Kwangtung and Fukien origin. Their numbers could be easily increased, because through administrative measures their immigration has been kept down. In some countries only a very small number were admitted annually; in other permits to immigrate were given more or less freely, but on condition of payment of a very high head tax. The Japanese can easily double or treble the number of immigrants, putting as the only condition of migration a guarantee of the 'political reliability' of the emigrant. The Chinese have played an extremely important part in the economic life of the countries of Southeastern Asia. This part would be greatly increased on the one hand through repeal of certain limitations upon the activities of the Chinese, on the other hand through the systematic financial assistance given by the Japanese banks to the Chinese businessman, especially to middlemen. Of

course, the activities of the Chinese would be controlled by the Japanese, and here the Chinese from Taiwan come into the picture. Many of them beside their own native language speak Japanese also. The number of such persons can be easily increased, especially if the youth of Taiwan knows that lucrative positions will be opened for them. Thus, two lines of control can be used: on the political side—local population—rajahs —the Japanese commissioners—Tokyo; on the economic side—local population—Chinese middlemen controlled by the Taiwanese or with the help of the Taiwanese—the Japanese monopolistic concerns. The local population will be then thoroughly con-[193] trolled by the Japanese; on the other hand it will be racially divided and unable to present a united front against its masters. The Chinese will know that their interests and privileges depend upon the favor of the Japanese, their economic interests will oppose the interests of the local population. The Japanese militarists hope in this way to reconcile the native population of the island to alien rule. They declare that the greatest immediate problem in respect to the Chinese population of the island is kominka or turning them into imperial people, or more simply, some kind of assimilation. A campaign for the spread of the Japanese language is being conducted; the Chinese are encouraged to change their names into Japanese; various patriotic and chauvinistic societies have been established in order to influence the mind of the Chinese youth. One should not conclude from these facts that the Japanese want to establish a racial equality in this

4:Crajdanzev--191-193 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans-3
116, 553, 563, 723, 177.65 Japan
636.65

'co-prosperity' sphere. The Japanese authorities complain that very few islanders change their names. Actually only a few hundred have used this privilege. However, this change of name is not so simple: each case has to be approved by the governor, and it is clear that approval is given only to those who can prove their complete fidelity to their masters."

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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Annex "A," Subparagraph 2g,
Political Background

PROPAGANDA

PROPAGANDA AGENCIES

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647 The principal propaganda agencies of the Chinese government in Formosa are the Fourth Section of the Kuomintang Central Committee, which is in charge of publicity, operates newspapers in Formosa and abroad, publishes magazines and books, and promotes radio programs; and the political department of the Ministry of National Defense, which makes frequent airborne leaflet raids and broadcasts daily to the China Mainland. In addition, it runs a motion picture studio, stages plays, operates mobile units which urge the people to support the government, publishes periodicals, and distributes reading matter to the armed forces.

PROPAGANDA POLICY AND ACTIVITIES

Propaganda to the Mainland

208
123 Propaganda is directed to the China Mainland by airborne leaflets and radio broadcasts. In 1954 some 375,000 leaflets were dropped every two weeks over Chekiang,

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
~~AD1~~ AD1

Kiangsu, Fukien, and Kwangtung provinces. Leaflets were also dropped on special occasions, such as the New Year Day, Double Ten National Anniversary, the death of Stalin, the liquidation of Beria,[1] and the arrival of prisoners of war in Formosa. Daily radio broadcasts are made by the Voice of Free China, the air force, the army, and the Cheng-i stations. The Voice of Free China, with 750 kilocycles, is able to reach all parts of China, including Manchuria and Sinkiang.[2]

The propaganda distributed in leaflet form covers a wide range of subjects, including the growing strength of anti-Communist forces, Communist treachery, corruption, extortion, oppression, and massacres, the eventual failure of Russian and Chinese Communists, and so forth. The daily broadcasts contain programs such as, "Everyday Comment," "What to Do," "Whistling," "The Comfortable Home," etc. Experts are engaged to write special features, and distinguished scholars and celebrities are invited to broadcast. The new radio station on Quemoy Island (Kinmen)

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1. China Handbook, 1954-55, Taipei, China Publishing Co., 1954, p. 265.
2. Chung-hua Nien-pao [China Annuals], 1954, Taipei, China News Press, Feb. 1955, Vol. II, p. 90.

208 is also making special broadcasts to the
723 Mainland.

The propaganda policy toward the Mainland is to damage the morale of enemy troops and weaken their fighting power as well as to urge the Chinese people not to co-operate with the Communists and to wait for the opportunity to rise against the Communist regime.

Propaganda Directed to the Overseas Chinese

The Kuomintang publishes Chinese newspapers in all parts of the world where there are large communities of Chinese. The Voice of Free China daily broadcasts news items in different local dialects and music programs for the entertainment of the overseas Chinese. Occasionally exhibits depicting Communist atrocities and documentary films showing military maneuvers and industrial progress on Formosa are circulated under the auspices of the Chinese consulates. Special personalities are sent abroad on lecture tours. One such instance was a tour arranged for representatives of the Communist prisoners-of-war who refused to be repatriated to Red China after the Korean armistice.

The purpose of propaganda work among the overseas Chinese is to guard against the growth of pro-Communist sympathies among

45:Stanford U; S-4; 5 1956 AD1 Formosa
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208 723 them by publicizing the decline in living standards on the Mainland under Communist control, and to rally support for the reconstruction work in progress on Formosa.

Propaganda in Formosa

In Formosa, stage plays and motion pictures are used for purposes of propaganda. To reach the rural population in far-off districts, mobile units have been organized to bring the people musical programs followed by the performance of a play or the projection of documentary films, interspersed with anti-Communist speeches. Maximum use is made of posters. It has been found that pictorial posters are most effective among illiterate people. Wherever one goes in Formosa, one encounteres slogans painted in huge characters on the walls, posted on every public building, even printed on the labels of beer bottles: "Wrest Back the Mainland," "Liberate Our Brothers," "Crush Communism," "Resist Russia," and "He who does not denounce traitors is a traitor himself."[3]

To military personnel, lectures on the teachings of Dr. Sun Yat-sen are given

3. The Manchester Guardian Weekly, Vol. 73, No. 13, Sept. 29, 1955, p. 12.

regularly. Periodicals and other anti-Communistic pamphlets are distributed free to the armed forces. Among the publications written especially for military personnel are the Soul of the Nation, the Army Reader's Digest, the Light of Victory Pictorial, and Entertainment Monthly, and the Life of National Heroes.

Propaganda activities inside Formosa exhort the people to give full-hearted support to the government in its avowed policy to liberate the Mainland and strengthen the will of the armed forces to fight.

EFFECTIVENESS OF PROPAGANDA WORK

On Mainland China, all radio receiving sets must be registered with the police.[4] There is a strict ban on the reception of programs of foreign origin. As early as 1950 the Communist Liberation Daily urged readers to report those who listened to the Voice of America.[5] Even the children are encouraged

4. There are about one million receiving sets in Red China. See chapters on propaganda in the regional handbooks on China.

5. Chieh-fang Jih-pao [Liberation Daily], Shanghai, Nov. 12, 1950, p. 1.

208 to denounce their parents for illicit listening.
723 In view of the limited number of radio sets and the vigilant ban on reception, it is doubtful that many people on the Mainland would risk imprisonment by listening to the broadcasts from Formosa. At any rate, the radio receivers are owned by people of means, and broadcasts rarely reach the workers or people in rural districts.

For psychological warfare directed to the Mainland, airborne leaflets appear to be effective, and especially so if they are pictorial, in view of the high rate of illiteracy among the masses. In spite of the Communist threat to punish those who do not destroy or surrender leaflets immediately after such material is found, it stands to reason that many of the people will read the leaflets, if only out of curiosity. Leaflets are dropped in both urban and rural areas.

Political work by Free China among the overseas Chinese seems to be highly successful. The general attitude of the overseas Chinese is best reflected in the varying degrees of enthusiasm with which they observe the anniversaries of the founding of the Chinese Republic and that of the Red regime. Even in localities where the authorities have already recognize the Peking Government, and in spite of the efforts of the Communist diplomatic representatives, the Chinese residents display

less zeal each year in celebrating the Communist National Day. From radio programs and news columns the overseas Chinese are well informed of the ruthless manner in which their kinsmen in China are treated by the Communists. Anti-Communist associations have been organized in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, Mexico, Colombia, Chile, Peru, the Philippines, Tahiti, Korea, Singapore, and Thailand. Many groups of overseas Chinese have pledged moral and financial support to the Nationalist Government.

On Formosa, largely due to the intensive efforts of government propaganda, the people are wholeheartedly anti-Communist. However, some observers are skeptical about the response of the Formosan Chinese to the cause of the liberation of the Mainland.[6] Since Formosa not only serves as the rallying point for all overseas Chinese, but also keeps alive the hope for eventual emancipation of 600,000,000 Chinese people now under the

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6. "These slogans may have some effect on the youth or on the soldiers from Mainland China, but create very little impression on the adult Formosan, who views them with mild cynicism." The Manchester Guardian Weekly, Sept. 29, 1955, p. 12.

208 123 Communist yoke, the Nationalist Government feels that it must keep on publicizing the coming liberation of the Mainland, whether or not it has the means to achieve its avowed mission. Because a gigantic military campaign would draw heavily on the resources of Formosa, it is not improbable that a section of the populace might react unfavorably to government propaganda relating to an impending invasion of China. However, in the present state of emergency an opinion adverse to the declared national policy is not tolerated. Consequently there is very little public expression by means of which one can gauge the extent of response if an invasion of the Mainland were to be launched.